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From these descriptions it appears that the buildings of the square were anciently constructed somewhat after the fashion of a native house with a long porch. In Oklahoma they degenerated rapidly, especially after the Civil War. While I have seen one square in which the cabins were provided with a shingle roof, they are almost universally simple brush arbors. In those which retain the original idea most fully there are eight posts marking out the three ancient subdivisions, but in many grounds these have become reduced to six and in still others to four. Often, however, the tripartite division is theoretically maintained. The posts are forked at the top and bear a brush roof that is renewed every year at the time of the busk. The seats are usually of logs split in halves, laid with the flat surface uppermost. Two or three rows from front to back are made of these, but as a matter of fact many Indians, especially the principal

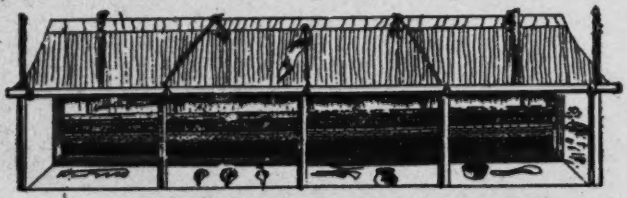

FIG. 8.—One of the beds in the Alabama Square Ground as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century. From a contemporary sketch. Medicine pots and spoons to right, on ground; gourd rattles to left; flag over the center pole; notched pole or atásá at either end and another pair some distance in from either end; a pole carrying a scalp at the top of each intermediate post; two full-length cane seats below. Near the left end, under the front of roof, are written the words "Caban de Conseille." (From an article entitled "Documents concernant l'Histoire des Indiens," by the Baron Marc de Villiers, in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s. vol. xiv, 1922, p. 136.)

men, now use wooden chairs brought from their camps. The well-nigh universal statement, on the part of earlier white writers and the modern Indians, is to the effect that the cabins, arbors, or "beds," as the Creeks themselves call them, should be laid out toward the four cardinal points, and this holds for almost all of the modern squares. Jackson Lewis said that they used the north star as a guide in placing them. On the other hand the great square of Tukabahchee is somewhat askew, and one of my interpreters, who had formerly been the miko of that town, asserted that it was intended that the entrances should lie toward the cardinal points. This is confirmed by Hitchcock.[96a] Whether this was an established custom of some or all of the Creek towns it would now be impossible to say, but I am of the opinion that it was never universal. A change has also come about in the number of arbors. Anciently there appear to have been four without exception. At least there is no early mention of a smaller number among the Creeks proper.[96]

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[96a] See p. 188.

[96] For the Seminole, however, see Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 58.

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821 If the bodies of young children were not put into trees in the way elsewhere described it was thought there would be a drought.[93] If, after they had been so disposed of, it began to get dry, the people would go to the tree where the body had been placed and sprinkle water all about it.

•823 That locations might be considered lucky was shown in the case of my Alabama interpreter. After he had lost two wives in succession the people said that something about the situation of his house was "wrong," so he changed it.

821 773 An Indian preacher, who, of course, was glad to see Biblical resemblances in native lore, told me that there was a story of a great and long-continued drought in which the people were fed on bread and meat by The One Above. This bread is said to have been "something like white peas" (lady peas).

796 The annual busk was the principal occasion with them. Bartram observed in one town that they kept Sunday in his time out of respect to the white people,[94] but this custom could never have been very widespread.

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782 224 Sacrifices or offerings similar in kind were made by all of the southern Indians. Adair says:

"They sacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, both in their summer and winter hunt; and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health and for their former success in hunting; or that the divine care and goodness may be still continued to them. . . . Formerly, every hunter observed the very same religious economy; but now it is practised only by those who are the most retentive of their old religious mysteries. . .

"The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology. . .

"The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in their divine presence, singing Yo Yo, etc. for their success and safety [in case they have lost none of their companions]: but . . . both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill. . .

"They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned; unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity." [95]

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[93] See p. 326. [94] Bartram, Travels, pp 455-456. [95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 117-119.

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at these feasts; the doctors say that it raises the spirits of the sick, and weakens the evil spirit.[85] 755

Today they call these dances by a shortened form of the name, Pishofa dances; they will be discussed at length in a subsequent paper.

The later Creek performance was much tamer than the ancient ritual. If a person were sick and his family knew what medicine to send for they did so; if not they got the physician's advice and procured the herbs, and other things he ordered. The pot was laid out for him with the medicine plants near it and beside all a cane for him to blow through, also a chair for him to sit in and a small gift to encourage him. Four root stalks or branches of the medicine were generally used, and in gathering these the doctor sometimes faced east and sometimes one of the other cardinal points in accordance with the nature of the remedy. Bark and branches were generally taken from the east sides of the trees. The medicine was piled into the pot at the direction of the physician, along with water, after which he blew into it through the cane four separate times after as many repetitions of a sacred fromula suited to the kind of disease which he supposed the patient had contracted. He came four successive mornings, allowing the gift to remain where it had been placed until the fourth, when he took it with him. This gift might be some cloth—perhaps 10 yards of calico—money, a handkerchief, or, if the doctor were a woman, a shawl. Money has been given only in late times.

The points of the compass are frequently named in these formulæ. The circuit is always sinistral or contraclockwise, and according to the best information I could get it usually begins with the north and ends with the east because the east is associated with life or the renewal of it. According to one informant, however, it ended with the south, and there may have been variations in the formulæ because the colors attached to these points are admitted to vary. One of my best informants stated that they were either: North (honeta), green; west (akálatká), red; south (wahála), black; and east (hásosa), white; or else north, red; west, green; south, black; and east, white. The black is said to stand for the shade or something of that sort, but it does not seem natural that it should be to the south. The table following contains seven lists of colors applied to the cardinal points by several different bodies of Creeks, and a list from the Cherokee band of Natchez, obtained from several different authorities. 755 823 822

[85] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 5, p. 310.

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	North	West	South	East
Chekilli, speech to Oglethorpe (Kasihta).	Red and yellow.	Black	Blue	White.[1]
Tuggle, Ms	Red	Yellow	Black	Do.[2]
Lasley Cloud, through F. Speck (Tuskegee).	Black	do	Red	Do.[2]
Big Jack (Hilibi)	Green	Red	Black	Do.
	Red	Green	do	Do.
Z. Cook (Tukabahchee)	Black	do	White	Red.
Silas Jefferson (Tuskegee)	Green	Black	Brown	Yellow.
Texas Alabama	Yellow	do	Red	White.
Watt Sam (Natchez)	do	do	do	Do.

[1] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 245.
[2] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[3] Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 22.

Here red and yellow is each applied to the north in three lists, and black and green in two; black is applied to the west in four lists, yellow and green in two each, and red in one; black is applied to the south in three cases, brown in one, red in three, and blue and white in one each; white is applied to the east in seven cases and yellow and red in one each. In conjuring for the dog disease the cardinal points were faced in the same order as that first given, ending with the east, but no colors were mentioned. In others neither the points nor the colors occurred. When he blew into the medicine, however, the doctor almost always faced east. An Alabama doctor would sing one verse of the medicine formula and call upon the north, sing another and call upon the west, sing a third and call upon the south, and sing a fourth and call upon the east. Then he would blow into the medicine and do the same thing again, passing around the circuit four times and blowing into the medicine after each circuit. Afterwards the patient was given some medicine to drink, and, wetting the ends of his fingers in it, the doctor rubbed some on the patient's ears, arms, legs, breast, and in fact his whole body. The north was referred to as the "yellow water," the west as "the black water," the south as "the red water," and the east as "the white water," and they were enumerated in that order, as in the table above.

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According to my Natchez informant, himself a medicine man, the sick person must be laid with his head to the east. It was like administering poison, he affirmed, to turn the heads of the sick in any other direction, because "the east meant long life and good fortune while the west meant short life." Bark, roots, and other portions of trees or bushes which entered into the remedies were taken from the east side. If a person became weak and emaciated, his name might be changed.